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ABSTRACT

A collection of nine brief statements by prominent Catholics and other religious policymakers on the moral implications of compulsory military and other national service is presented. Each of the respondents answers the following question: "In your judgment, what are the moral and ethical implications of a public policy, in time of peace, of registration of young men (and women) and of compulsory military service or alternative national service?" Answers are provided by Robert F. Drinan, Michael Novak, Gordon C. Zahn, David Hollenbach, Mary Sullivan, William J. Byron, John J. O'Connor, Neal William McDermott, and David B. Burrell in articles that deal with peacetime conscription and morality, the changing nature of the draft, conscription and the national service, conscience and registration, R.O.T.C. and peace studies, morality and necessity in national service, serving proudly for God, ethical implications of the draft, and national purpose and national service. The collection concludes with a statement issued by the United States Catholic Conference Administrative Board concerning its official position towards military conscription and the peacetime draft. Specific points raised in the statement are on registration, military conscription, and conscientious objection. (DC)

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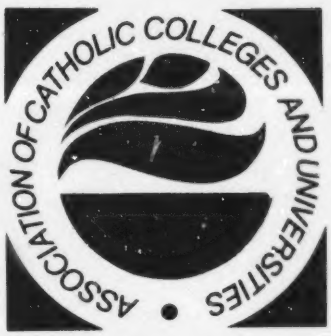
Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education



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With this issue, the previous publication of the Association of Catholic Colleges entitled *Occasional Papers* gives way to a new publication *Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education*. The Board of Directors of ACCU made this change last spring in order to communicate the "content" of the journal as well as the fact that it was published only "occasionally" . . . that is, once or twice a year.

For the sake of librarians in particular we wish to call to your attention to the fact that the last issue of *Occasional Papers* was Vol. V, No. I issued in Summer 1979. It is our hope that we will be able to present a specific "issue" of current interest to Catholic Higher Education each time. We will welcome your suggestions for issues and/or themes that you would like to have addressed. This is Vol. I, No. I of *Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education*.

Introduction

This collection of brief statements on the moral implications of compulsory military and other national service was planned in late 1979. It was (wrongly) thought then that the question of peacetime draft would be relatively dormant during the presidential election year of 1980. It was hoped that the statements of moral and ethical positions would anticipate by some months the immediate prospect of draft registration.

Events have of course made the project all the more timely and, it is hoped, helpful to Catholic college students and faculty members. Registration of men, if not compulsory service, is now the law of the land. The debate, social, political, and moral, has begun again—about compulsory national service, especially military service, especially service in peacetime. And the debate has a new dimension, namely, the inclusion or exclusion of women.

The positions advanced in these papers are a contribution to the debate from the standpoint of the moral implications which the writers point out. They should be the basis and stimulus for further discussion and searching, specifically among the students and faculty members of Catholic colleges and universities served by the ACCU.

The auspices under which this collection of statements was assembled should be explained. It was designed by the ACCU Committee on Purpose and Identity. In recent years a primary concern of the Association has been to help its 210 member institutions clarify and enforce their mission within the Catholic community of Christian faith. What these institutions share with other independent colleges and universities in the United States and Canada—commitment to an authentic academic enterprise within society—is easy enough to define, if not to achieve. But what they understand to be distinctive in Catholic higher education places greater demands on them: as religiously oriented, as church related, as Christian and Catholic educational institutions.

One basic challenge to the colleges and universities of ACCU is how they can respond to the social issues of the day or, more properly, how their students and faculty members respond individually and collectively. Among these issues the military draft and related questions touch the people of our campuses deeply and personally; they are a kind of direct and immediate challenge to the kind of total development of the human person, intellectual, moral, spiritual, that we profess to seek.

The method of this project needs explanation. Instead of another survey of opinions or reactions or an attempt to produce a prepared statement of consensus, it was thought better to seek a diversity of brief position papers. Some twenty Catholics in public life and academic life were approached; the responses reflect, as was hoped, very differing judgments within the community of Christian faith. They demonstrate clearly that the concrete application of the Gospel to a particular question is not simple, whether by a careful moralist, a political leader concerned with common good and individual rights, or a campus minister. The responses range from the highly personal to the most objective analysis. They can be a starting point for formal and informal discussion and reflection.

Each of the respondents was asked to answer, in about 1500 words, the following question:

> In your judgment, what are the moral and ethical implications of a public policy, in time of peace, of registration of young men (and women) and of compulsory military service or alternative national service?

The resulting statements are presented without further analysis or summary. Each one stands on its own but, with all their differences and lack of neat answers, they share a common moral conviction within the Catholic tradition—that is, that decisions require an informed personal conscience.

We are grateful to the members of the ACCU Committee on Purpose and Identity who designed the project and selected the participants. We are especially grateful to those who generously contributed the statement of their positions.

Frederick R. McManus
Chairman, ACCU Board
of Directors

In your judgment, what are the moral and ethical implications of a public policy, in time of peace, of registration of young men (and women) and of compulsory military service or alternative national service?

Robert F. Drinan, *Congressman*
4th District, Massachusetts

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Admitted to District of Columbia bar, 1950; Massachusetts bar, 1956; U.S. Supreme Court, 1955; Dean, Boston College Law School, 1956-70; Visiting Professor, University of Texas Law School, 1966-67. Elected to the 92nd Congress, November 3, 1970. Re-elected to 93rd, 94th, 95th and 96th Congress.

Degrees: A.B., M.A., LL.B., LL.M., ordained priest, 1953

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Peacetime Conscription; The Moral Implications

Robert F. Drinan, S.J., M.C.

As we enter the 1980's, military conscription has once again surfaced as a major national issue. Proposals to reinstate draft registration were forwarded by the Carter administration (January, 1980), with subsequent action by the Congress. Citing changing political and military realities around the globe, some military strategists have recommended reinstituting draft registration. Most advocates of registration agree that draft registration can easily lead to military conscription should any new international threat occur.

On only one occasion in this century have our Nation's young men been called upon to take up arms—shortly before the United States entered World War II. This new movement toward peacetime conscription is virtually unprecedented in our Nation's history, and, in light of the ever-present dangers of nuclear warfare, raises serious questions about its political, military, and moral ramifications.

The political and military arguments on this issue have been well documented;[1] the debate has centered around the nature of an appropriate response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the hostage-taking in Teheran, and the widespread impression of a weak All-Volunteer Force.

For an examination of the moral considerations regarding the implementation of peacetime conscription, historic attention has been paid to this issue by the Roman Catholic Church. While the Church has never opposed conscription as such, it has pointed to the disruptive effects of a conscript army on normal peacetime life, particularly the stability of the family.

In his encyclical letter *Praeclara Gratulationis* in 1894, Pope Leo XIII gave voice to this traditional concern, noting the dangers of general military service to the well-being of society: "Youths are taken away from the care and teaching of their parents and cast into the dangers of barracks life. They are taken from the land, from their studies or their business, for military service." He further denounced the "armed peace" which prevailed among the European powers. The collapse of the "armed peace" in 1914 was seen by some observers as a vindication of the Papal counsel.

In September, 1917, Pope Benedict XV, in a letter sent to Prime Minister Lloyd George by Cardinal Gasparri,[2] in connection with the abortive Papal initiative for peace, urged the abolition of obligatory military service: "obligatory military service has been the real cause of countless evils for more than a hundred years; its simultaneous and reciprocal discontinuation will be the most effective remedy (i.e., for peace)." Similar sentiments were conveyed in a letter to the Archbishop of Sens in October of the same year. In 1956, Pope Pius XII in his Christmas message, while upholding the legitimacy of conscription as a defensive precaution, cited his agreement with Leo XIII and Benedict XV who "lamented the headlong armament race and the moral dangers accompanying barracks life . . ." He emphasized that general military duty must recognize certain exceptions in the interest of society and of the church: heads of families, and clergy. Earlier, in his 1953 address to the 6th International Congress of Penal Law, Pius XII had defined "self-defense" as the only justification for war.

In general, while the Church has not condemned conscription when and where sufficient reason or evident necessity can be shown, the evils associated with peacetime conscription have been repeatedly warned against.

It is fair to argue that the conditions of modern "total" warfare, in which the distinction between combatant and noncombatant is effaced, are such that the traditional criteria for the "just war" have no validity. In that light, it is held that "experience with universal conscription for military service" has been such that there is reasonable certainty "that conscription has not met the test (i.e., of assuring national security)."[3] The qualitiative difference (and not merely quantitative) which modern weapons, especially nuclear ones, introduce into warfare was stressed at the Mainz Catholic Congress in 1948.[4] The authority of Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani is cited by some authors for the view of conscription as "most

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[1]See, for example, the debate in the House of Representatives, *Congressional Record*, April 22, 1980.

[2]Pietro Cardinal Gasparri (1852-1934), Secretary of State to the Holy See from 1914 to 1930.

[3]Stratmann, Francis M., *War and Christianity Today*, Westminster, Maryland, Newman Press, 1967, pages 14-15.

[4]Ibid., page 17.

harmful" to society and to the preservation of peace.[5]

Generally, conscription is regarded as "morally indifferent" i.e., capable of being used for good or evil ends. Nevertheless, the Church has often tried strongly to discourage peacetime conscription as undesirable in its effects. Thus, the *Catholic Encyclopedia for School and Home*, with the imprimatur of Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York, comments that conscription "can easily be justified" (by grave national danger or a threat to the peace), but not as "a national permanent institution" apart from "the assumption of a permanent and grave national danger which cannot otherwise be met."[6] The Encyclopedia notes further that "many eminent (Catholic) prelates and theologians" have opposed conscription.

According to Mr. Edward Doherty of the Social Development and World Peace Office of the United States, Catholic Conference, the American bishops have opposed peacetime conscription as highly undesirable since the end of World War I. A form of conscription was first introduced during the Civil War; not until the First World War did the U.S. adopt full conscription. In 1940, the American bishops opposed the peacetime draft and urged alternative policies, including a volunteer army.[7] In April, 1980, the Administrative Board of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops indicated a willingness to consider peacetime conscription if the Government could show convincing evidence of military necessity or a threat to national security. In addition, the Catholic Peace Fellowship expressed its opposition to peacetime conscription.

With such a clear history of the Church's regard of the draft in times of peace, it is fair to return to the original question regarding the current proposals before Congress, and the Nation. Is draft registration designed to rescue us from an impending military conflict of significant proportions, or, rather, are these new proposals designed to serve as political ammunition on the front of a new cold war? The answer to this question will provide us with the proper response to the moral consequence of a draft as we enter the 1980's.

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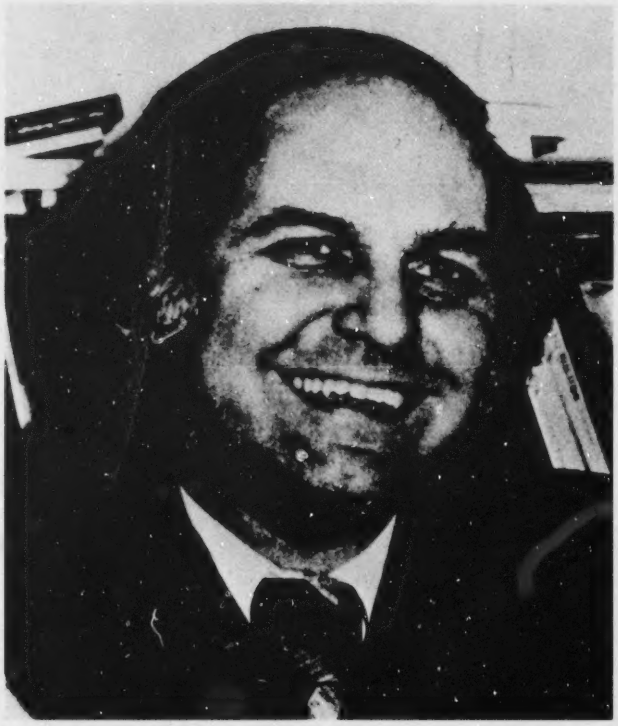
[5]Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani (1890-1979).

[6]*Catholic Encyclopedia for School and Home*, Supplementary Volume, New York, McGraw Hill, 1968, page 85.

[7]The Catholic case against conscription is given by Msgr. George O'Toole in his pamphlet, *War and Conscription at the Bar of Christian Morals*, New York, Catholic Worker Press, 1941.



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Publications: THE OPEN CHURCH; VIETNAM: CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE (with R. McAfee Brown and A. Heschel); POLITICS: REALISM AND INSPIRATION: and THE AMERICAN VISION.

Reflections On The Draft: The Times They Are A-Changin'.

Michael Novak

The existence of the draft was so important to the anti-war protests of the late 1960s that President Nixon saw the political benefits to be derived from terminating it. As he foresaw, anti-war protests diminished once the self-interests of all those families subject to the draft had been satisfied.

In the best of all possible worlds, no draft would ever be necessary. The doctrine of the Incarnation teaches us, however, that God's grace is to be found in the world as it is, not in some purified utopia. In the real world, a public commitment of entire nations to Christianity does not prevent wars. However high the moral aspirations and protestations of the world's peoples, wars and rumors of wars are characteristic of human life as it is. Christian nations have warred upon Christian nations. Socialist nations have warred upon socialist nations. Neither religion nor ideology has sufficed to end the threat of one state against another.

The situation is not much different in the moral life of individuals. Despite ever higher levels of literacy and enlightenment, there are few signs that the force of evil is being diminished in the human breast. It is true that some evils are redefined. Divorce, abortion, and homosexual activities are presently regarded by some enlightened persons as moral rather than as immoral. Self-betrayal, infidelity, selfishness, hedonism, cruelty, and other evils of personal life do not seem to be diminishing in frequency. The Christian understanding of the persistence of evil in the world is not, therefore, being falsified by claims of "moral progress." This world is not a world in which justice and peace rule.

Most of the world still suffers, as it always has, under tyranny. Yet this tyranny today is more total in its controls than any in history. Furthermore, this tyranny is more dynamic today than it has been in this century, for several reasons. The Soviet Union cannot relax its internal liberties without losing total control over its citizens. Its single-minded concentration upon achieving military primacy has, therefore, a certain inner logic. Its military forces have now exceeded in nearly every respect the capacity of present U.S. and allied forces credibly to restrain them. The Soviets cannot do anything they want. But their room for maneuver now is greater than that of U.S. and allied forces.

The United States itself is not as dependent on the oil of the Middle East as are its allies. Soviet control over the oil, direct or indirect, could place several of the world's key democracies under the sway of Soviet influence. The struggle over Middle Eastern oil will determine the fate of several democracies.

The deterioration of the U.S. forces is so great that most of our military units are armed with weapons older than the men who use them. Military pay is so low that skilled craftsmen are deserting the services by the thousands. The simple maintenance of helicopters—as in the disastrous rescue mission moving on Teheran—strains our military capacity. Most of our ships at sea and our ground and air forces are ill-supplied, undermanned, and at dismal levels of maintenance and readiness.

The intellectual level of the all-volunteer army has fallen to unprecedented levels. Reportedly, many artillerymen lack the basic I.Q. to service, maintain, or even properly aim their weapons.

The draft must, therefore, be morally judged by comparison with its alternative. An all-volunteer army is not sufficiently representative of the intelligence, skills, income and educational levels of the population as a whole. It is not a true citizens' army.

The draft, of course, must respect individual conscience. Modifications of the selective service law to respect individual conscience were made before selective service inductions ended in 1973.

But the task of defending this nation and the possibilities of democratic life elsewhere did not end in 1945 or 1973. In the 1980s the threat to civilization is as high as it was in the 1930s, for Soviet forces far exceed those of Hitler in their power, range, training, readiness, and stated ambitions. The training of terrorists and subversive agents has reached gigantic proportions. To pretend that huge amounts of money, intelligence, manpower, and armaments are not being massed against the survival of liberty in the world is to live in a world of dreams and wishes.

To forestall the impending military confrontations, nothing is so effective as readiness to resist. The most elementary act of peace is readiness for war. "If you desire peace, prepare for war."

Much depends, then, on the willingness, gen-

erosity, and spirit of self-sacrifice of the nation's youth. It is urgent to improve the quality of the U.S. armed forces, in personnel and in equipment, as rapidly as possible. Time is very short. In this perspective, it is a Christian duty for those who see it so, to rise to the defense of the nation. It would be wonderful if intelligent, idealistic, and able young Americans volunteered for service to their nation. But it would be far more fair if selective service called upon sufficient numbers from every social class to give service to the nation.

An army composed disproportionately of the poor, the less intellectually able, and the less idealistic is not healthy for our democracy. Nor is it a sufficient deterrent to the ambitious, bold, younger leaders who may emerge during the next crisis in Soviet leadership, when in the next few months or years its present elderly leaders are called to their reward.

There is a particular danger that those whose formative experience in these matters came during the anti-war period of 1965-75 will be frozen in moral attitudes adopted then but now outmoded. Lessons learned in one era are often precisely the opposite of those required for a rapidly changing moral situation. Anti-war protests following World War I led to a scandalous lack of preparedness prior to World War II, of which Hitler took cynical advantage. The "lesson of Munich" was inappropriately applied to the conditions in Vietnam in 1963-65. Likewise, today, "the lesson of Vietnam" does not illuminate the tremendously altered geo-political situation of 1980. In order to be moral, it is not necessary to be intellectually frozen. Moral wisdom, like political wisdom, depends upon a firm grasp of the realities of the moment.

Those who do not fear the decline of U.S. power which has occurred during the last twenty years, as against the growing might of the Soviet empire, unwittingly precipitate the very military crisis they claim to be preventing. Unreadiness halts no wars. Readiness forces potential enemies to count costs prudently.

Peace and justice depend on military readiness. Under voluntarism, U.S. readiness has alarmingly declined. The draft appears to be the most fair, most efficient, least costly, and most hopeful alternative, in these most critical next few years. Having supported resistance to the draft in the Vietnam period, I now intend to stand with those generous enough to accept burdens they did not choose and would prefer to set aside—burdens on which the fate of all of us depends. The times are not like those of the 1960s. The appropriate moral response is different.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Member of the Executive Committee, Pax Christi USA; member (also honorary vice-chairman) of National Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation; member of Boston Archdiocesan Commission on Justice and Peace; conscientious objector (Catholic) in World War II.

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Comments on The Moral and Ethical Implications of Conscription and National Service

Gordon C. Zahn

At a time when the weaponry of modern war—that classified as "conventional" no less than nuclear—is of such a nature as to render the traditional criteria of the "Just War" meaningless, any policy or program which makes it more convenient for a nation-state and its leaders to contemplate war as a solution to any problem they choose to define as a threat to national security or to the international order should be rejected on both moral and ethical grounds. The reintroduction of compulsory military training (and I would include its seemingly innocuous preliminary step, registration for such imposed service) is one such step toward making war an acceptable option for policymakers who might otherwise be more inclined to prudent restraint in their dealings with other nations.

If, as Francis X. Meehan, professor of moral theology at Philadelphia's St. Charles Borromeo seminary, has declared, Catholic tradition of the Just War allows one to go to war only if the cause is just and the rights vindicated are in proportion to the evil to be suffered, it is a matter of moral and ethical concern to us all that such restraints be multiplied and maximized, not diminished. To make a multitude of new recruits available to the military forces is to undermine the prospects of a peaceful solution to international strains and tensions.

Vatican II, the recent popes, and the official statements of innumerable bishops, speaking singly and in concert, have called for a thoroughgoing rejection of war, for an "entirely new attitude" toward war, for a total renunciation of violence. The return to a military draft (whether or not its true nature is disguised by the sugar-coating of broader "national service" proposals) ignores these moral guidelines. When even so conservative a churchman as the late Cardinal Ottaviani has held that war must be "altogether forbidden," anything which enhances the possibility, indeed the *likelihood*, of war should be rejected as an evil which could open the way to what, in the words of Thomas Merton, would be a crime "second only to the Crucifixion."

But the moral and ethical objections to military conscription go beyond its implications for national policy and its potentially destructive consequences for international relations and peace. A greater evil lies in the impact conscription will have upon the individuals subject to its demands. It depersonalizes them; it violates their rights; and, most serious of all, it reduces their capacity for individual moral judgment.

The depersonalization goes deeper than the simple disruption of life and career plans young men (and young women too?) are obliged to endure. Rather, it is the nature of the disruption we must consider. From the formative years of socialization keyed to the fullest possible development of their potential and the perfection of their individual and unique personhood, they are abruptly forced into an altogether new experience, one in which they are converted into uniformed and interchangeable units and subjected to a conditioning program designed to produce unquestioning (and, if possible, automatic) obedience to "the system" and its representatives. The initiative and independence stressed at home and in school find little or no place in this new and threatening environment.

This process of making each unit in the marching ranks indistinguishable from every other is bad enough, but the depersonalizing effect of conscription and military training was given still another dimension in President Carter's attempted justification for his proposal to resume registration for the draft. Quite apart from whether or not one accepts his assurances that there is no intent to actually restore conscription, his emphasis upon the *symbolic* impact registration would have upon potential challengers to the nation's security reveals a shocking lack of moral and ethical sensitivity. To reduce a whole generation of American youth to mere symbols and make of them incidental instruments of public policy, a device for "sending a message" to the Soviet Union, is perhaps the cruelest form of depersonalization and clearly incompatible with the Christian and democratic values we profess.

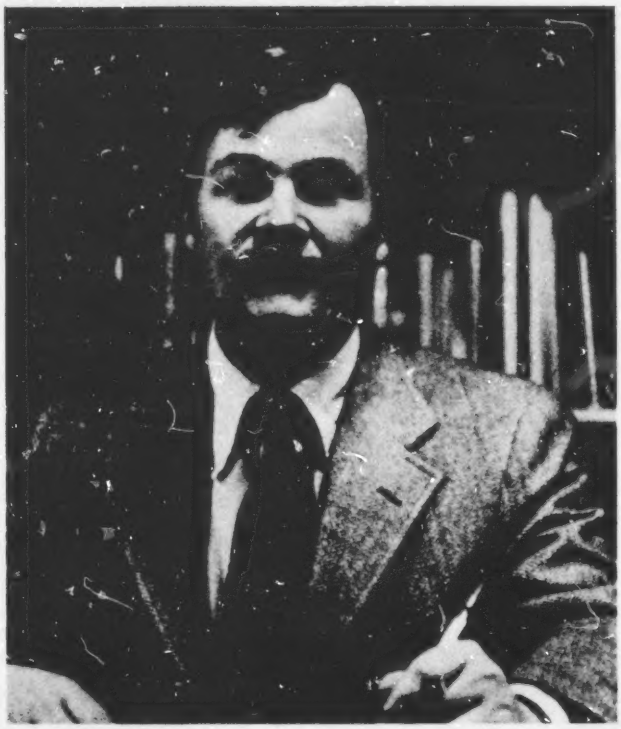
Obviously, to depersonalize any human being to the status of a cipher subject to the direction and use of public authority is to violate that individual's rights. There is yet another, more immediate, sense in which military conscription—and this applies to the various proposals for com-

pulsory "national service" as well--should be rejected. As Milton Mayer has pointed out with his customary lucidity, the President and members of Congress have all taken oaths to uphold the Constitution and its amendments. This includes the Thirteenth which, as he puts it, "forbids involuntary servitude, with no ifs, ands, or buts except as a punishment for crime. If ever there was a self-evident truth, it is that conscription—peacetime, wartime, any old time—is involuntary servitude and therefore forbidden within the United States. If the courts, not excluding the Supreme Court, have ignored that prohibition in past challenges, this is but one more illustration of the truth we already have learned with respect to abortion and other issues, namely that the courts are not always guided by moral or ethical considerations in reaching their decisions."

The most insidious effect of military conscription however, is more subtle in operation. This is its debilitating effect upon the moral judgments (and, worse still, upon the capacity to form sound moral judgments) of individuals subject to it. Simply stated, young men of 18 or 19 have neither the spiritual and intellectual maturity nor the moral formation needed for the kind of personal decision they will be obliged to make concerning the moral quality of actions they are to be trained to perform. On a purely situational level, they will be exposed to military discipline and instruction, subject always to serious sanctions and to the ridicule of their peers for failure to fit the precast mold of "the good soldier." There will be little opportunity and certainly no incentive to question the morality of the weapons they may be called upon to use or the wisdom and ethical judgments of superiors in the hierarchical order through which their orders will be passed down to them. On the contrary, any disposition to raise such troubling questions is sure to be discouraged and, should it become too evident, might lead to even more severe sanctions, both formal and informal. After all, the sole purpose of the military training to which the conscript is involuntarily exposed is to assure obedience and efficient performance. Even if it were possible to free oneself of the formative influence of the totally controlled military environment and form an independent moral judgment as to the justice of war or a given act of war, it would require a display of special heroism to refuse to comply.

It would be too much to expect such a display from the average 18- or 19-year-old recruit. Nor can we take too much confidence in the presence on the scene of the military chaplain. My past research has made it abundantly clear that most chaplains concentrate their moral guidance responsibilities upon such things as sex, gambling, drinking, and similar private temptations. The suggestion that it could be their function to heighten the soldier's moral consciousness and sensitivity concerning war and military service—or even to provide support and encouragement to the soldier who develops such moral doubts on his own initiative—is regularly, often indignantly, denied by these pastors-in-uniform.

What we have, then, is a reversal of right order. At the very time when these young men should be awakened to the social and behavioral implications of their Christian faith and persuaded of a moral obligation to form and follow their personal and private consciences, conscription would expose them to a controlled life experience demanding just the opposite. Moralists once were concerned about what they defined, and regularly condemned, as "occasions of sin." That term is relevant here. I would insist that, to the extent that military training places a young man in a situation which would prepare him to commit acts of at least doubtful morality and, at the same time, make it unlikely, if not impossible, for him to even recognize the morally questionable nature of those actions, conscription and the military training it would impose should be recognized as such an occasion of sin in the truest sense. Once so recognized, it should be firmly and actively opposed by anyone concerned with the preservation of moral and ethical values in this nation.



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Board of Directors, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, PA, 1972-78; Research Travel on Human Rights in Comparative Ethical Perspective: Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt; Participant, Project on Human Rights, Needs and Power in an Independent World, Woodstock Theological Center; Member, Justice and Peace Commission of the Archdiocese of Boston; Walsh-Price Fellowship, Maryknoll Center for Mission Studies, for comparative study of human rights in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

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Publications: CLAIMS IN CONFLICT: RETRIEVING AND RENEWING THE CATHOLIC HUMAN RIGHTS TRADITION, Woodstock Studies #4 (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); "Modern Catholic Teachings Concerning Justice," in John C. Haughey, ed., THE FAITH THAT DOES JUSTICE: EXAMINING CHRISTIAN SOURCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE (New York: Paulist Press, 1977) 207-231; "A Prophetic Church and the Catholic Sacramental Imagination," in John C. Haughey, ed., THE FAITH THAT DOES JUSTICE 234-263

Reflections on Conscience, Registration and Conscription

David Hollenbach, S.J.

The current nation debate about registration for the draft and conscription for military service presents American Catholics with a threefold challenge of conscience. First, obligatory registration and the possibility of conscription for service in armed combat challenges the Catholic community to clarify its principles on the morality of the use of force. Second, the debate calls for discussion of both the scope and the limits of the obligation of individual citizens when faced with a call for registration or active service. Third, the Church is challenged to develop effective pastoral and educational means for ministering to the young citizens faced with potential conscription. These reflections present a brief response to these points.

The foundation of all Christian reflection on the morality of the use of military force is the commandment to love one's neighbor. In the teachings of Jesus the obligation to love extends not only to those who love in return but also to enemies. The example of Jesus shows that this love is to be extended even when the cost is persecution, suffering or death. Thus at the heart of Christian moral response to war is commitment to the life and well being of all neighbors, both those of one's own nation and those of other nations.

This foundational moral commitment suggests that the stance most compatible with Christian faith is the pacifist condemnation of recourse to arms and the rejection of all participation in military service. This conclusion has been supported by some Christians throughout history. It was the predominant one in the first centuries after Christ and has been supported by groups, such as Mennonites and Quakers, down to the present day. The commandment to love is viewed as demanding the absolute prohibition of killing in warfare. In the Catholic tradition since the time of Constantine, however, another interpretation has been predominant. The just war tradition has argued that Christian love may sometimes call for the limited use of military force to repel an unjust attack on one's neighbors under certain stringently specified conditions. The norm of love implies a powerful presupposition against the taking of human life. Therefore engagement in armed conflict can only be justified when values as great as or greater than human life are at stake. The just war tradition rests on the supposition that tragic conflicts between the pursuit of peace and the defense of justice can sometimes call for the use of force in the name of justice. The conditions which must be met before entrance into hostilities can be justified are seven. (1) The use of force must be for a *just cause*, namely the defense of one's own or another nation against unjust attack. (2) The use of force must be a *last resort*. (3) The hostilities must be under the direction of *legitimate authority*. (4) There must be an *announcement* of the intention to begin hostilities. (5) There must be reasonable *hope of success*. (6) The intention motivating the action must be a *just intention*, i.e. it must really aim at the protection of one's neighbors, not at domination over them. (7) There must be an expectation that the evil caused by hostility will be *proportionally outweighed* by the good achieved. Two further conditions must be met in the actual conduct of hostilities if the use of force is to pass the test of the fundamental norm of love of neighbor: (1) noncombatants must be immune from indiscriminate attack; and (2) the evil caused in individual engagements must be proportionately outweighed by the good achieved.

These two sets of principles place strict limits on the use of force. Their stringency is so great as to call into question most contemporary forms of warfare. During the past several decades serious questions about the possibility of the justification of any resort to force under modern circumstances have led a significant number of Catholics to adopt a pacifist stance. The development of vast arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons and the grave danger that regional conflicts will rapidly escalate into global conflict have led many to conclude that warfare can never be an authentic expression of love of neighbor in our time. As the Second Vatican Council put it: "these considerations compel us to undertake an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude" [*Gaudium et Spes*, no. 80].

This re-evaluation of the meaning of war has brought about a new ethical pluralism in Catholic reflection on the use of force and on the morality of military service. The Vatican Council and a number of other recent official church statements have reaffirmed the teaching that military service within the strict limits specified by the just war theory can be a genuine contribution to both jus-

tice and peace. At the same time, however, the Council also praised those "who renounce the use of violence in the vindication of their rights" [*Gaudium et Spes*, no. 78]. Such renunciation of force can be on the grounds that no modern war could meet the conditions specified by the just war theory (relative pacifism). It can also be based on the conviction that killing in war is always unjustified (absolute pacifism). In the present pluralistic situation which prevails in Catholic thought, military service within the limits of the just war theory, relative pacifism and absolute pacifism are all granted legitimacy. Even the most permissive of the three possible positions places very strict limits on warfare. All three create a strong presupposition against the use of military force. All three call for the rejection of the idea that modern warfare is justified simply by the fact that a government has concluded that hostilities are necessary. All three provide possible grounds for conscientious objection to military service, either selective objection to particular wars, objection to all modern war, or absolute objection to all war. Though current Catholic teaching leaves room for a pluralism of judgments on the legitimacy of war and military service, this teaching speaks with one voice on the necessity of scrutinizing war and engagement in military service in the light of stringent moral standards.

This pluralism of possible moral positions has been created by the interlocking complexities of international relations and the inevitably tragic and destructive consequences of modern warfare. Under the circumstances of the present international military and political situation the teaching office of the church has not felt justified in proposing a single concrete moral position on the use of force or on engagement in military service. This situation of moral pluralism has arisen, I believe, because the Catholic community is in the process of learning what its communal response to modern warfare should be. The former consensus has broken down and a new consensus has not yet been generated. The compatibility of absolute pacifist, relative pacifist and just war approaches with the official teachings of the church is a reflection of this incomplete movement toward a new and more fitting understanding of the demands of Christian love.

This process of coming to a new understanding calls for responsible reflection and personal decision by all Catholic Christians. In the present situation individual Christian citizens do not have the luxury of looking to the consensus of the Catholic community as expressed in the teaching office of the church for a simple yes or no answer on the question of whether they should serve in the military. Conscientious moral judgment is called for. Such judgment must be informed by consideration of the political/military situation and by a careful weighing of the insights contained in the just war tradition, and in the two varieties of pacifism. The responsibility of shaping both national policies and the church's own communal response to military activity falls on the conscience of individual Christian citizens in a new way in our day. This locus of responsibility is made most clear in the Church's strong defense of the principle of conscientious objection. The Vatican Council has insisted that the law of the land should "make humane provisions for those who for reasons of conscience refuse to bear arms" [*Gaudium et Spes*, no. 79]. The U.S. Bishops have declared that the church stands committed to defending the judgments of both conscientious objectors and selective conscientious objectors as compatible with Christian faith. "In the light of the Gospel and from an analysis of the Church's teaching on conscience, it is clear that a Catholic can be a conscientious objector to war in general or to a particular war 'because of religious training and belief'" [*Declaration on Conscientious Objection and Selective Conscientious Objection*, United States Catholic Conference, October 21, 1971]. It is undoubtedly true that citizens have an obligation to serve their country and to defend it and support its security. The church's support of conscientious objection makes clear, however, that this obligation does not imply an uncritical acceptance of government decisions about the use of force. Neither does this political obligation imply that service in the military is a moral obligation for everyone who might be called to serve by a draft. In urging that United States law make provisions which respect the judgments of both the conscientious objector and the selective conscientious objector, the American bishops have affirmed that this obligation is limited by the moral limits of war itself.

For these reasons I believe that the most important challenge presented to the American Catholic community by the present debate about registration and the draft is that of developing new ways to minister to those of its members who are confronted with the onerous choice of whether to register for or serve in the military. The complexity and dangers of the military and political relations between states make nuanced judgment an indispensable condition of the exercise of moral responsibility by American citizens today. Despite the lack of certitude on the level of moral generalizations, the American Catholic community cannot afford to leave individual persons to face profound decisions of conscience in iso-

lated solitude. Blanket approval or blanket condemnation of military service by the teachers and ministers of the church may be impossible in the present situation. But education and pastoral ministry are not limited to the communication of moral generalizations. Indeed, profound education and pastoral counseling on a broad base are much more important when the church as a whole is forced to admit that it does not possess the single right answer to a morally urgent question. The weight of responsibility cannot be measured by the ability of individual Christians or the church as a whole to reach simple, cut and dried conclusions. For example, one person's decision to marry another or a couple's decision to have children call for the highest possible awareness of the values which are at stake in the decision. The Christian community cannot predict the success of a marriage or the success of a family. However it can and does seek to provide both moral education and pastoral care for those reaching decisions about marriage and family life. It should not do less for Christians faced with the choice of psychologically and physically preparing themselves to kill other human beings.

Thus in my view the single most urgent aspect of the Christian community's response to registration and the draft is the initiation of broad-based educational programs on the ethics of warfare. Such educational programs should attend both to the pluralism in contemporary Catholic ethical thought on the subject and to the reasons why this pluralism has emerged. This will demand careful consideration of both the immense dangers of any modern war and the complexity of the political judgments which these dangers call for. At the center of such education must stand the core of the entire Christian ethic: Jesus' command to love one another must determine whether one serves or objects to service in the military. Such moral education is needed on the college campus, in the high school, in parishes, indeed wherever people gather as Christians. Draft counseling and "registration counseling" are similarly needed both for young persons facing a call from the armed forces and for their parents, their friends and all those who help shape their decisions.

Educational and pastoral programs of this sort do not answer the question of whether one should register for military service or whether one should serve if drafted to do so. Of themselves they do not settle the issue between a just war, relative pacifist or absolute pacifist ethic. But serious educational and pastoral efforts to respond to the present challenge to the American Catholic conscience is the first step from pluralism to a new consensus in the church. And above all, the church owes at least this much to its young members who bear the burden of conscientious decision.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

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MARY SULLIVAN, R.S.M.

In the fall, a leading Catholic university recruits students for its Reserve Officers Training Program with a flyer quoting extensively from the administrative leadership of the university. Below are just a few of their statements:

> "The U.S. Army is important for our national security, and its ROTC offers you an interesting career option." (President)
>
> "As college students, you have an obligation to yourself to broaden your vision of life and to consider the many opportunities to use your talents in the service of others . . . I urge that you consider all that the Military Science program has to offer." (Dean, College of Arts and Sciences)
>
> "I perceive Army ROTC as a compliment to our business program and a job opportunity after graduation." (Associate Dean, School of Business Administration)
>
> "Whether leading a platoon in maneuvers or the manager of a company's personnel department, the learning experience is the same. I encourage you to try the ROTC program to increase your own potential as well as your future employment marketability." (Director, Career Planning and Placement)

Militarism is the prevalence of the ideals of the military, the spirit that exalts military qualities and a policy of aggressive military preparedness. The position voiced in the flyer suggests the cultural dominance of the militaristic mentality and that this mentality is to a significant degree uncritically accepted and supported actively by Church institutions.

Registration and compulsory military service pose a serious question of conscience to the young people who are directly affected by such a policy. But perhaps the most serious challenge is to those representatives of the Church—clergy, administrators of educational institutions, and others in leadership positions to whom the young look for some guidance in examining the moral issues involved.

There is a morality gap of massive proportions in the Catholic Church on the subject of war. And to speak to moral implications of registration, draft, alternative national service, women in the military, one must first consider the question of morality of war, for the major purpose of the military is the making of war, whether it be interpreted as a war of defense or of aggression.

The only way that war could be a permissible option for a Christian is as a means of justice and love. Since this is probably never possible in reality and certainly impossible in an age of thermonuclear weapons, then participation in war and threatening war by building up arms are excluded as moral options. This has also been the increasingly insistant position of the Second Vatican Council and of all the popes since John XXIII.

Three of the most direct ways of participating in the military system and its war-threatening arms race are through the payment of taxes, through working in the industrial production of the instruments of war, and in a most serious and immediate way, through becoming part of the military itself. But if war is not an option for a Christian, then we have the obligation to work strenuously at developing the means for peaceful and just settlement of conflicts that are the inevitable part of international life.

The immediate concern, however, is for students who are facing the implications of the awful reality of war in their own lives. Point after point decisions will be required—whether or not to register; whether or not to fill out the draft forms, and how; whether or not to apply for conscientious objector status; whether to accept or reject various classifications, whether or not to report for draft board hearings, physicals, induction itself; whether to put on the uniform; whether or not to obey an order that goes against one's conscience; whether to resist registration or the draft publicly or to hide from the authorities. Responsible decision-making is not an easy matter, particularly when such an overwhelming burden is placed on eighteen, nineteen, and twenty-ty-year olds.

Conscientious decision-making demands intelligence, awareness of the issues, knowledge of facts, penetration of myths, knowledge of principles, rootedness in one's central values, courage to decide, and the support of a caring community. It also requires a clear awareness that law and morality may not necessarily be one and the same, that the moral choice may call for violation of a law or of a command, and that this choice will cost something.

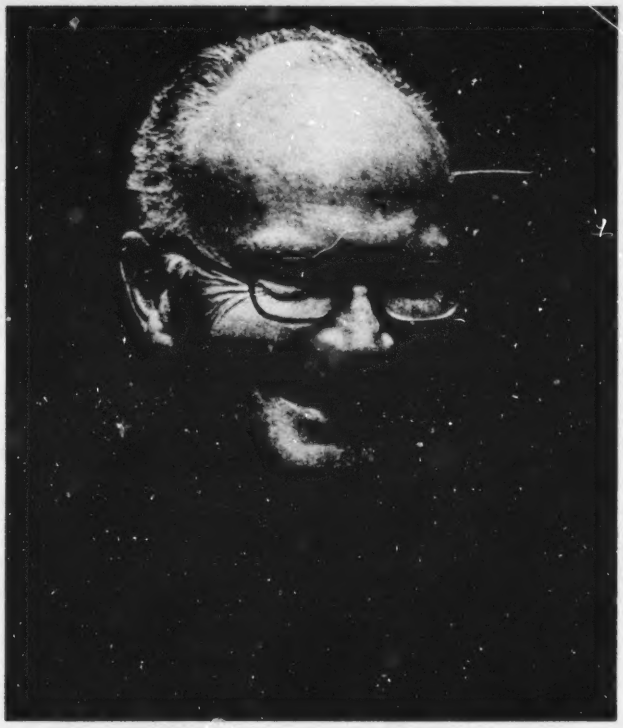
The role of the campus minister is one of helping students to clarify their beliefs about war, both individually and in dialogue with others, as a basis for responsible choice; putting them in touch with appropriate counseling and legal resources; supporting them in their process of responsible decision-making, bringing these serious concerns into communal prayer and celebration of the Eucharist; becoming more and more knowledgeable about the history, teaching, and practice of the Church in regard to war; and facilitating involvement in positive efforts toward the achievement of disarmament and demilitarization.

There is a great need for the contemporary social teaching of the Church to be more clearly articulated in our educational institutions. Accomplishing this task is the real challenge for our educational leadership, both administrative and faculty. Values, we know, are not so much taught as caught—by the programs we sponsor, by our funding priorities, by the types of achievements that are rewarded, by the people who are honored, as much by what we fail to do as by what we do. Those in Catholic education often claim that they are providing an alternative environment, an alternative vision growing out of the Christian faith. And yet frequently we look no different from any other institution—with our ROTC programs; fostering of employment marketability as the top priority; wholesale indifference to the plight of young people faced with the disruption of their lives because of dubious decisions of a government bent upon being number one in military might and preserving economic dominance; and finally by the perpetuation of our long-unexamined assumptions about the relationship between values we say we stand for and what we are actually doing.

Two emphases are needed. While respecting pluralism of values and the sanctity of the individual conscience, there is a need for education in the process of moral decision-making. We need also to make truly viable the possibility of a countercultural choice. Some of our resources ought to be put into seeing that the pacifist viewpoint gets an adequate treatment on our campuses, since the militarist viewpoint already has most of the power and resources at its disposal to capture the minds of our students.

Administrations and faculties should seriously re-evaluate their support of military training on campus. If an institution insists on an ROTC program it ought also support a comparable Peace Studies program. If hospitality is given to war recruiters on campuses, then in fairness alternative information ought also to be provided to students at the same time, so that they are not taken in by false claims and promises of recruiters.

It is certainly much harder to work for peace than to drift into war. Those who labor for nonviolent solutions to problems demonstrate the kind of strength called for in the beatitudes. We need to help puncture the myths that courage and violence are connected and that war is noble and glorious. We need rather to see war in this thermonuclear age as the unspeakable evil that it is and to begin to act accordingly, in our individual decision-making and in our institutional policies and practices.



William J. Byron, S.J.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Taught both economics and social ethics. Served in U.S. Army, 1945-46 (508th Parachute Infantry). President of the Board of Directors, Bread for the World Educational Fund, Inc. Former Dean of Arts and Sciences, Loyola University, New Orleans.

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Morality, Necessity and the Common Good —*An Ethical Reflection on Compulsory National Service*

William J. Byron, S.J.

Compulsory national service means enforcement by the state of human service in the interest of the state. Compulsion always involves force. Hence the moral implications of compulsory national service touch upon the use of force. At issue is the right of the state not simply to enforce a law, but to compel human service.

If the common good, not just national convenience or comfort, requires it, the state may compel service and do so morally. If a citizen faced with such compulsion to serve refuses, the moral consideration extends to the means the state employs to compel the service of the many by punishing the refusal of the few. Since, however, the use of compulsion is usually a declaration of defeat for the rule of reason, it should be used sparingly; otherwise, more harm than good will ensue as the force of reason gives way to physical force.

Typically, the means of enforcement available to the state are the denial of property (fines), the denial of residence (exile), the denial of freedom (arrest), and the denial of life (execution). No one of these means is to be employed lightly. Strong arguments can be made against applying the death penalty under any circumstances.

Aside from consideration of the morality of the means the state might choose to employ in compelling service required by the common good, there is a further moral question of the state's respect for freedom of conscience in those cases where refusal to serve rests on a conscientious conviction. Surely the common good requires absolute safeguards for freedom of individual conscience at all times in all circumstances.

The Constitution of the United States offers protection against involuntary servitude to all its citizens. Would compulsory national service, military or otherwise, violate Constitutional rights in this regard? Probably not, but that would be a matter for the Supreme Court to decide. "Probably not" because presumably there would be provision not only for total objection in conscience to compulsory national service in any form, but to selective conscientious objection to a particular form of service. Within a full range of national service opportunities, each addressed to needs touching directly upon the common good, there would be, presumably, an array of options open to the citizen.

Comprehensive national service would include health, education, social welfare, conservation and other types of service in addition to the military. If sufficiently attractive financial rewards were associated with all these services, there would be no need for the state to compel its citizens to render them. Hence, the moral consideration of this complicated issue must not ignore the question of the state's willingness and ability to pay a sufficiently high price for these services and thus render compulsion unnecessary. (I am prescinding here from any consideration of the compulsion that money itself exerts and the related moral responsibility of the one who proffers it.)

Just as it is morally inexcusable to use force to take money unjustly, it would be morally wrong to substitute force for the payment of the money it would take to purchase necessary services when such payments can be reasonably made. The presumption stands on the side of the state's inability to pay for all the services it needs at rates prevailing in private labor markets. Apparently, the all-volunteer army experiment of recent years in the United States has yielded neither the quantity nor the quality of personnel judged to be necessary to meet reasonable military requirements. Moreover, this arrangement seems to have shifted the burden of service to the poor whose enlistment may be freely made but whose job satisfaction is reportedly quite low, a function probably of both insufficient pay and challenge.

If the widely held presumption of the state's inability to pay prevailing market rates for all the services it really needs is incorrect, two questions emerge. Are higher taxes needed to support higher spending for national service? Or, must some spending cease so that available revenues can be applied more generously to higher-priority needs? This is a form of the guns-and-butter debate. A growing appetite for both guns and butter has inflationary consequences on the economy. When expenditure trade-offs are considered within the government sector only, "soft" items like food

stamps and social services appear to be much more vulnerable than military hardware and the personnel needed to tend it.

There are issues here of justice and prudence that can easily be lost in the emotion of national security debates. It is precisely in the national security context that the questions of military and other forms of national service arise.

The case for compulsory national service depends almost entirely on the strength of the argument at any given time that the common good requires it. I think the argument can be made that the United States finds itself now in a condition of national emergency. I do not, however, define that emergency in terms of the presence of an external enemy. The crisis, as I see it, lies within the nation. Specifically, it lies within the youth of the nation. It is a crisis of purposelessness. The temptation is great to say the problem weighs most heavily on the nation's economically and educationally disadvantaged youth, but I am not so sure. The problem of purposelessness is evident in the suburbs and the ghettos, in the protected environment of college campuses as well as on the sandlots and in the slums.

If this purposelessness, with its derivative frustration, non-participation, vandalism, violence and destructive dependencies is in fact a national emergency, then the common good would urge appropriate action by the state.

If the state were to compel its youth, both the purposeless and the purposeful, to devote two years of their young adulthood to meeting basic human needs at home and abroad, needs left unattended by the operations of the private labor markets, might the purposeless find direction for their lives and the purposeful gain further maturity without intolerable delay or deflection from their intended goals? Some delay and inconveniences for the purposeful would be justified by a national emergency of widespread purposelessness. If the state cannot pay attractive wages for services required by the common good, deferred payment in the form of educational and other benefits would be both fair and in the national interest

If, in addition to the purposelessness crisis within, the state is confronted with a military emergency, the conscripted citizens, with all due allowance for conscientious objection, might fairly be called upon to bear equal shares of the risk and danger associated with the national defense. The underlying assumption, of course, is that the military emergency would satisfy the moral criteria for a just war.

It should be noted that I am not locating a national emergency in national security, or unmet social welfare needs, or decay of the cities, neglect of the elderly, inadequate child care, needs for conservation and environmental protection, inadequate health care, or deteriorating educational services for the poor. My point is that widespread purposelessness among our youth is a fact and it constitutes a national emergency. Enlisting the young to meet national needs like the ones listed above may or may not be our best way of coming to grips with the real national emergency.

Understandably, we like to have evidence to support assertions of the presence of a national emergency. Such evidence usually presents itself in crisis form. "Remember Pearl Harbor!" was the rallying cry that generated in 1941 a national consensus strong enough to support the mobilization of troops and the alteration of civilian lifestyles. In the face of the evidence, the response seemed quite reasonable.

The nation's present emergency has no focused rallying point. Perhaps Chicago '68 and Woodstock '69 sent up the first signals. Was the "first shot" the one at Kent State in 1970? Jonestown 1979 fired both shots and shocks that unsettled a nation not yet sufficiently unified to face an as yet unrecognized crisis.

Lesser known events—personal tragedies stunting the development or ending the span of precious young lives—have found their way into countless family histories. But those families have not yet come to a consensus on the presence of a crisis that I define as purposelessness episodically evident in bursts of violence, organized outrage, individual and communal withdrawal, self-denigration or self-destruction. An analysis of the crisis reveals a generally well educated but undisciplined young, most quite healthy, many affluent, virtually all "unnecessary," even redundent, from the perspective of production economics, although quite active and "necessary" for the vitality of the consumption side of the economy.

When goals are unclear, anxieties abound. Our young are more than just uneasy about their future.

In looking toward the possibility of compulsory national service, I am not suggesting that the poor, the sick, the elderly, the ill-housed and the unemployed at home or overseas be "used" in an exploitative program designed to enable our young to find themselves. I am suggesting that our young can help with the complex task of meeting these basic human needs. A relatively short two-year engagement of this kind would confront our problem of purposelessness. Some needs of the nation's poor and marginated would be served; some significant social problems would be sig-

nificantly reduced. The conscripted providers of national service would have more than an opportunity to mature and find their way. With actual work experience, they might also develop motivation sufficient to influence subsequent educational decisions and career choices. In all probability some would commit themselves to longer-term engagements with the problems than the two-year service obligation would allow.

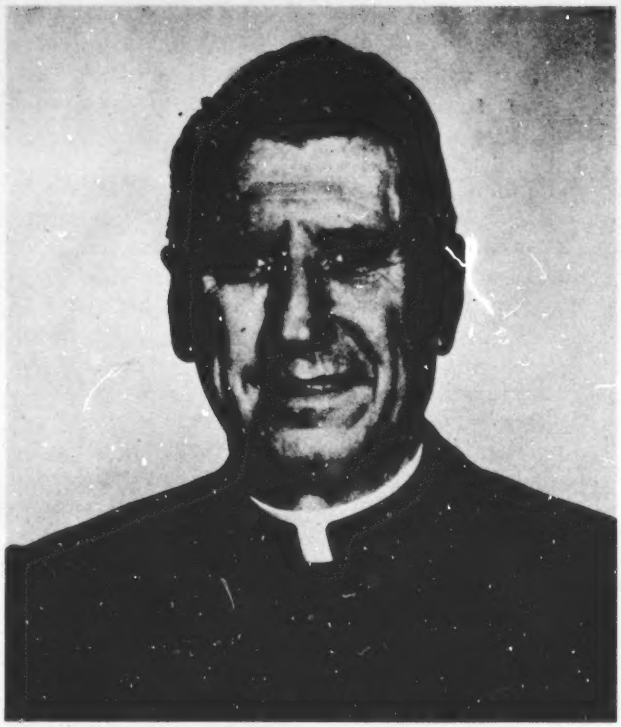
The possibility of a two-year service obligation followed by a new or more mature sense of purpose, coupled with an educational benefit, suggests that the common good might be served through compulsory national service. The morality of the compulsion looks first to the seriousness of the national need. It next examines the appropriateness of the means, or avenues of service, employed to meet the need.

I do not now see a military need sufficient to justify conscription. Nor do I assess the seriousness of any single social, environmental, educational, or physical resource-need to be great enough to justify conscription. All these needs in combination do, however, present a formidable national challenge. The federal financial ability simply is not there to pay market rates for the services required to meet all these needs. Add to this a condition of national purposelessness which has reached crisis proportions (my claim, subject to the affirmation of a national consensus) and you have within a single although complicated framework the question for moral consideration of compulsory national service in the United States today.

A reasonable state will use force on its citizens only with the greatest care. Otherwise, the rule of reason falls into jeopardy. The consequent harm is likely to be greater than the envisioned good which prompted the use of compulsion. Only widespread agreement on the good to be achieved will reduce the risk of a defeat for reason in a situation where service is compelled. That widespread agreement is not present in the United States today.

There remains the question of registration for national service in the absence of a clear condition of national emergency. This, it seems to me, is a matter of prudent judgment. Given the availability of computers and zip codes, together with the prevailing practice of registration by the young for Social Security numbers, I am not persuaded by the argument that peacetime registration is needed to guarantee readiness for a draft in some future military emergency. Neither, however, do I see any great danger of state infringement on individual rights by means of peacetime registration. I see the issue more in terms of a technical judgment concerning the time required to register the young, and a political judgment relating to the possibility of the executive branch of government inducting and mobilizing the registered for combat without enactment by the legislative branch of a declaration of war.

Unfortunately for the poor, sick, unemployed, hungry and homeless of this nation and elsewhere, we are not accustomed, in our national Congress, to declaring war on the enemies that afflict these very needy people. Nor do we have a psycho-social index calibrated to measure the purposelessness of our young whom we view more wishfully than wisely as the future of our nation. Both wisdom and realism, essential elements in any sound moral judgment, would suggest that *voluntary* national service on a comprehensive scale should be attempted now, and that plans be laid for development of a consensus-building mechanism for compulsory national service should the common good clearly require it.



Most Rev. John J. O'Connor

Vicar General, Military Vicariate

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

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Degrees: M.A. (Advanced Ethics), M.A. (Clinical Psychology), Ph.D.

FOR THOSE WHO SERVE

John J. O'Connor

On February 15, 1980, the Administrative Board of the U.S. Catholic Conference issued a statement on the subjects of registration, conscription, universal national service, conscientious objection, women and conscription, and the citizen's duty to contribute to the defense of society. Since that statement essentially reflects my personal views, I shall not burden this paper with repetition.

The Bishops' Statement does make a critical point, however, which my background might qualify me to address more fully. It is a point easily lost. Noting that "the decision to enter military service and subsequent decisions in the line of military duty involve moral questions of great importance", the Statement addresses the need for education and counseling to assist in the formation of conscience "on questions of war and peace". The point that could be lost is that such approaches must go beyond obvious questions regarding combat, supporting a war or refusing to do so, the morality of various weapons systems and related issues. While imperative to address these questions, it is equally important to help individuals prepare to *live* in the military environment and meet its routine, workaday demands, should they in fact enter military service. Even without conscription, 350,000 Americans currently enter and leave military service annually. The majority do not engage in combat. Even during periods of conflict, many uniformed personnel complete their military service without hearing a shot fired, and those who actually serve in combat are likely to spend considerable time disengaged from actual fighting. This is not to belittle either the horror of war or the sacrifices of those who serve in combat. It is simply to emphasize the need to prepare individuals for the everyday realities of military life as experienced by the majority of people in uniform and their families—realities which prescind from questions of war, as such. These realities pose both grave threats and superb opportunities for the emotional, moral and spiritual well-being of military people. They require continuing attention on the part of those who would help individuals and families prepare for military service, and on the part of military and governmental officials responsible for the care and treatment of persons in military service, more than 2 million of whom, incidentally, including wives and children, are Catholics.

Positive Opportunities

The Socialization Process. World Wars I and II saw millions of young persons of extremely limited experience transplanted from provincial environments to widely varying areas of the world. Many bitterly prejudiced against religions other than their own acquired new insights. Others developed an appreciation for different cultures and races. Urbanites met country and mountain folk. Rural dwellers met city people. Many returned home with healthier understandings. The process continues today in military service.

Minorities. In many instances racial and ethnic minorities and women have found job opportunities and acceptance in military service more readily than in civilian life. Communities contiguous with large military bases often become melting pots in which a variety of differences are harmoniously absorbed.

Ideals and Values. Many young people "find" themselves during military service and learn skills valuable for their future. Simultaneously, they are exposed to an "official" and authentic body of ideals and values which, although frequently violated in practice, provide a dimension which they may not have encountered in civilian life. Such ideals and values include the practice of sacrificing for others, functioning in teams, maintaining fidelity to family, loyalty to country, and so on. Those who try to "carry out their duty properly", thus "contributing to the maintenance of Peace", as Vatican II reminds us, frequently experience deep satisfaction and the spiritual and emotional rewards that accompany serving others with honor and integrity. Patriotism need not be chauvinistic nor a refuge for scoundrels. When practiced appropriately, as the virtue St. Thomas describes, it can help stir up what is best and noblest in the human heart. Vatican II affirms that: "All those who enter the military service in loyalty to their country should look upon themselves as the custodians of the security and freedom of their fellow countrymen". For Catholics to be encouraged by the Council Fathers to so view themselves is no small comfort.

Spiritual Development. Despite difficulties mentioned below, many seem to thrive spiritually on the self-reliance required because of the lack of ready availability of structured parishes and religious support programs. They become spiritual activists, giving outstanding witness to others. In the melting pot of military service many persons of other persuasions work, live with, and closely observe Catholics, especially priests, for the first

time. One result is that there are more converts to Catholicism annually in the Armed Forces than in most dioceses of the United States. The spirit of ecumenism began to flourish in military service even before Vatican II. Since at least World War II, vocations to the priesthood have flourished, too, particularly among those who have seen missionary priests active in foreign lands. In all, it seems that both the intimacy and the demands of military life can contribute to a strong spiritual development.

The Negative

Threats to the emotional, moral and spiritual well-being of individuals and families during a war or under the clouds of a pending war can be grave. World Wars I and II, for example, witnessed family disruption of serious proportions. The climate of war contributes to widespread inversion of values, permissiveness, loss of respect for traditional moral standards, and related problems that adversely affect traditional parent-offspring relationships. Under threats of imminent or potential war, millions of young people may be conscripted, with some marriages badly disrupted, others entered into hastily, still others unduly postponed. Families are torn by separation. Some military persons taken captive are lost to their families for years, and, if ultimately reunited, find difficulty in resuming a normal family way of life. Infidelities that can seriously damage marriages are rationalized in a climate of war as peccadilloes for military forces away from home and under strain, or may even be encouraged as "rights" of warriors.

But whether or not there is "a war on", there are daily taken-for-granted potential negatives of military life that require discussion.

Basic Military Training. In leaving home for barracks living many experience their first separation from family and familiar supports. The separation can be traumatic, and the trauma exacerbated by culture shock. The new environment may appear hostile. Unless constantly monitored by authorities, basic military training can become unofficially dehumanizing and degrading. Barracks language may, at times, characterize even instructors officially expected to reflect the highest ideals. It is not difficult to become disenchanted by differences between recruiting "commercials" and the reality of life as a recruit.

Peer Pressures. Training completed, single persons will normally be required to live in a barracks setting, with others not of their choosing and of varying moral persuasions. Working conditions may be extremely demanding, in terms of hours on the job, physical surroundings and sometimes oppressive supervision. Peer pressure may be severe, particularly for those away from home, anonymous in uniform, with a variety of temptations and morally bizarre practices perceived to be encouraged, although officially forbidden. Some put human dignity and ideals aside for the duration of military service and even feel it hypocritical to attend Mass.

Policy Pressures. Certain policies and regulations of military service may intensify pressures. For example, life at sea, perhaps with men and women on board the same ship, in confined quarters, can provide a difficult context for chastity. Pregnancy may be treated as a "temporary disability". Pressures to have an abortion may be severe. Lack of control over one's immediate future, in terms of location, may make normal courtship impossible, with consequent tendencies either to marry in haste or to postpone marriage indefinitely. Where financial and housing benefits favor the married, single persons may be tempted to marry solely for the length of their military service, with the intention of obtaining a divorce upon leaving military service. For the married, separations are characteristic of modern military life, with all the risks and temptations involved. Children may feel rejected by a father "never" at home. Husbands may return from separations expecting unrealistic romantic responses from their wives and instant restoration as heads and masters of households and children. Wives who have struggled daily to function as both mothers and fathers not infrequently resent the return of husbands who disrupt the status quo, only to leave again. Today the wife/mother may be the military member of the family, separated from her husband and children for this reason.

Religious and Spiritual Deprivations. Religiously and spiritually, despite possible advantages discussed above, military persons may experience debilitating problems. Frequent moves may preclude being stable members of any parish, with continuity for religious education. The chronic shortage of priest chaplains means that Mass and the Sacraments may be unavailable for extended periods, and, in foreign countries, even where a local priest is available, he may share neither the English language nor American thought patterns.

Economic Hardships and Community Alienation. Military families often suffer financial losses through required relocations. Compensation is not maintained at levels comparable to the civilian sector. Working mothers become commonplace, with reduced maternal care for children. Even in the United States, single persons and military families may find themselves neither flesh nor fowl. Because they are transients, local communities may not fully embrace them and some

parishes may seem to ignore them. The single, particularly, may find themselves with no parish social activities or other wholesome outlets available. Families have special difficulty in entering children into parish schools. Assigned outside the United States, military personnel and families are often traumatized by culture shock and disappointed to discover that their financial circumstances do not permit them to travel or take advantage of the opportunities of living abroad.

Some Questions

Questions raised above and others require attention. For example, what of the ability of the Catholic family to receive back into full membership those sons and daughters who have changed radically while away from home, rejecting the values of both parents and Church? What support are Catholics to render one another within the military? What of the obligations of Catholic civilian families to reach out to military families and individuals far from home and in need of spiritual and emotional support? What thinking is being done about the great potential for good there is among Catholics returning to civilian life with newly acquired skills and highly usable experience?

Clearly, a broad awareness and outreach by Church authorities in respect to both the needs and the potential of those entering into, actually serving in, or returning from military service is required. Equally needed are priests, secular and religious, to serve as chaplains in uniform to those same individuals and families.

Nor should Church intervention be limited to such activities. Military and other governmental authorities need reminders concerning their obligations to maintain an appropriate environment, befitting the worth and dignity of the human person, and to assure reasonable moral and spiritual support and accessibility of religious facilities and resources for all. They must be reminded, as well, that military training programs are counterproductive even to their legitimately pragmatic purposes, if the nature of the training or the character and behaviour of the trainers are hostile to moral and spiritual values. The intentions of the overwhelming number of military authorities are of the highest order, as are their personal standards of conduct. As all human beings, however, they need reminders and demonstrations of concern. But they need help and understanding, as well. They have an extremely difficult job in trying to convert civilians into military forces. Merely being berated by those outside the military only makes the job harder. So, for example, it is important that Church-sponsored educational and counseling programs remind prospective candidates for the military of their obligations to serve with honor and fulfill the contracts they sign and oaths they take, if they do enter military service.

Finally, Church authorities could well intervene with elected officials in regard to the economic well-being of military people, neglect of which leads to many moral, spiritual and emotional problems. Despite billions of dollars apportioned to defense, increasing numbers of military people must depend on welfare, food stamps, moonlighting, working wives/mothers and similar emergency measures, simply to survive.

Summary

This paper has deliberately stressed the potential negative impact of military life, overemphasizing the "threats", at the expense of the positive, constructive opportunities available. The purpose of this overemphasis has been to underscore the need for Church sponsored efforts to prepare people for military service, should they embark upon it; for Church intervention to assist people in military service; and for thoughtful planning to help those returning to civilian life to make the transition, and to use their talents and experience. It should in no way be inferred, however, that service life is overwhelmingly negative or threatening. Adverse peer pressures, for example, are by no means limited to military life. Such pressures can be severe in civilian high schools, colleges and elsewhere. Movies and television can pervert and corrupt those who never leave their own civilian neighborhoods. And on the contrary, hundreds of thousands of military people live truly saintly lives, and many find military life exhilarating and fulfilling, mentally, morally, and spiritually. There is a sense of "belonging", sharing and serving that in many ways is unique to the military, and one finds all over the United States men and women with fond memories of military life, and happy to have served. Priest chaplains can tell innumerable stories of the extraordinary religious faith they encounter among military people, and the unreserved support given their priestly ministry by thousands of military personnel and families and by military authorities.

In short, my experience as a priest who wore a military uniform for 27 years thoroughly convinced me that military service can be a truly honorable lifetime profession, and can be a rewarding experience for those who serve for even a brief period. There are dangers—serious dangers. These must be recognized, preparations made for them, supports provided to survive them. But given the phenomenon of a world under arms and the terribly complex problems this creates for

society, while we must work tirelessly and pray unceasingly for peace and disarmament, to serve one's country in uniform in the meanwhile, far from being shameful, can be a noble act.

Responsible, informed teaching and preaching on war are seriously needed for young and old, single and married, as are responsible counseling programs for those who, for reasons of conscience, do not or should not engage in military service. Forthright pronouncements against war and its attendant evils help strip war of glamor and remind society of the self-defeating nature of violence. If such pronouncements are not well-reasoned, objective and factual, however, they can actually damage the cause of peace and create even more complex problems for society. And of themselves, such expressions of concern do not provide the support required by individuals and families who engage in military service, or who may do so in the future. It is therefore urged that all involved in Church sponsored programs reflect on the words of Pope John Paul II spoken recently to the priest chaplains of the armed forces of Italy: "*You undoubtedly have a great responsibility, because the Church, individual families, superiors and the youth themselves have faith in you and expect from you light, guidance, spiritual strength and a solid point of reference.*"

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Born 2-14-33 Carman, Manitoba, Canada. Professed as Dominican August 1955, ordained June 3, 1961. Taught and ministered at Edgewood College, Madison, Wis., Barry College, Miami, Florida and S.L.U. Chairman of Committee for Catholic Colleges and Universities, C.C.M.A. and Midwest Representative for Jesuit Higher Education. Campus Minister since 1964. Danforth Fellow 1967-68-69 University of Chicago.

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Ethical Implications of the Draft

Neal William McDermott O.P.

Forced induction into military service is a practice which has often met with opposition and open resistance in the course of American history. From an ethical point of view, it merits close examination today and, it seems one must say, final rejection.

At first glance, conscription appears defensible and even necessary, on the basis of a nation's right and duty to defend itself. In the words of the II Vatican Council, "governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted" (*The Church in the Modern World*, n.79). Indeed, there is no need to object to the maintenance of a standing army, even in peacetime, to uphold the peace and defense of the nation.

Forced conscription, however, is quite another matter. Its indefensibility can be pointed out in five ways. *First* of all, it denies a person's basic freedom: the freedom to refuse to kill. In a country which likes to pride itself on its love of freedom, it is ironic that such a coercive practice has been allowed at all. Indeed, for 165 years of our republic, the volunteer army sufficed. But with the twentieth century growth of the military establishment, freedom has not always been a cherished priority, neither at home nor in our dealings with other peoples. That a government actually constrains some of its citizens to train and equip themselves in a service which has no other objective than to kill is an ultimate indignity, and one which must be condemned outright. If it be denied that such is the basic objective of military service, one need only to listen to the stated intentions of U.S. military commanders. The draft in today's U.S. military posture has no other purpose. For middle-aged bureaucrats to seize the young and force them to go to a foreign land in order to kill and/or be killed is contrary to Jesus' invitation to love our enemies (Lk. 6:27), and it is a gross violation of human rights.

"In all his actions a man is bound to follow his conscience faithfully, in order that he may come to God, for whom he was created" (*Declaration on Religious Freedom*, n.3). The II Vatican Council also recognized that the common good is served by the conscientious choice of those who renounce violence and war, choosing the means of nonviolence, instead (*The Church in the Modern World*, n.78).

At the very least, these statements point up the need to respect the choice of conscientious objectors. Such individuals must be respected in their right to freely express their views and to live by them. They must not be curtailed by unreasonable limits, which refuse to recognize their choice of conscience, except in very restricted cases. Where there is doubt, the government should be inclined to err on the side of freedom and leniency, and not on that of coercion and restriction. In 1971, the U.S. bishops called for an end to peacetime conscription. Today we must deny the morality of any conscription at all.

We now come to the *second* reason the draft is unacceptable. It is quite clearly a major component in today's military build-up, which is not only senseless and unnecessary—it is absolutely reckless and suicidal. "We had the adventuresome policy in Vietnam," says Senator Mark Hatfield, "because we had the unlimited supply of manpower produced by the draft." The draft makes military adventures possible and practical.

But the draft must be seen today in the context of the present situation of the United States vis-à-vis the world community. We are no longer thinking about a force which would defend the nation's security and protect its people from aggression. We are rather witnessing, as we did in Vietnam, one nation's attempt to force its way on other peoples, to manipulate the course of world events, and to corral economic entities for our own perceived interest. With most of the controllable spending increases in the federal budget going to the military, it is not surprising that Washington has stepped up its threats of military intervention around the world. In the words of the executive committee of the National Council of Churches, "registration for selective service is evidence of recurring and increasing reliance on military responses to world problems. (It is) the initial and essential step to a military draft and represents one aspect of the growing militarization of the general population and of the young people in particular."

The *third* reason for opposing the draft on moral grounds is the grave danger of total destruction which modern warfare threatens. In the words of Pope John Paul II before the United Nations, "the continual preparations for war demonstrated by the production of ever more numerous, powerful and sophisticated weapons in various countries show that there is a desire to be ready for war, and being ready means being able to start it; it also means taking the risk that

sometime, somewhere, somehow, someone can set in motion the terrible mechanism of general destruction."

The danger of nuclear annihilation in any major conflict renders the race for military and arms superiority totally unacceptable from a moral standpoint. The traditional legitimizing factors for a just war have in our day been rendered obsolete for this very reason. Catholic teaching since World War II recognizes self-defense as the only just cause for warfare today. But the unjustifiable military escalation into nuclear warfare adds force to the denial of the draft as a suitable response to the defense needs of the nation. In other words, the draft is neither necessary nor justifiable as a means to arm the nation for self-defense.

The *fourth* reason for opposing the draft is the fact that the cost of the system of conscription is part of the heavy military burden which expends resources and draws them away from legitimate basic human needs. The 1976 declaration of the Vatican to the United Nations proclaimed that "the armaments race . . . is an act of aggression which amounts to a crime, for even when armaments are not used, by their cost alone, they kill the poor by causing them to starve." The draft is an important element in the arms race, and it shares in the rape of the poor, of which the excessive military build-up can be accused. Greater educational and monetary benefits imparted to men and women of the voluntary military service, however, are not only defensible, but even to be desired.

Finally, it is the very nature of war itself which vitiates the purpose of the draft. War is killing, and killing is wrong. While it is true that many Catholics do not agree that war in itself is wrong, there is a strong and growing sentiment that it is, as Bishop Gumbleton has recently pointed out. Jesus at no time resorted to violence against a person, nor did He allow his disciples to do so. The draft is immoral because warfare is immoral, especially in its modern guise.

Neither can one accept the trap of supporting the drafting of women for reasons of alleged equality. If it is wrong for young men to be shipped off to die in trenches, it is equally wrong for women.

The registration which can have no other purpose than to prepare for the draft is just as unacceptable. When it is seen as denying the very heart of Jesus' message, then there can be no other response for a Christian but to oppose it.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Joined the Department of Philosophy at Notre Dame in 1964 and taught there until his appointment as chairman of the Department of Theology in 1971, a position to which he was reappointed in 1974 and 1977. He is a member of the board of the Society for Values in Higher Education and also serves on the editorial boards of the Journal of Religion, St. Luke's Journal of Theology, Religious Studies Review, and the Notre Dame Press. He was a participant in a National Science Foundation-sponsored interdisciplinary study of decision-making in the power industry conducted by the Notre Dame faculty. He was Vice Chair of the ACCU Board of Directors 1977-79.

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National Purpose and National Service

DAVID B. BURRELL C.S.C.

Should we, in time of peace, engage in a public policy of registration of young men and women—a registration envisaging either compulsory military service or alternative national service? The answer appears to be yes, definitely yes, provided the alternative between military service and other forms of national service is readily and consistently available. Yet this might be placing too heavy a reliance on a governmental program to accomplish what programs of that sort are ill-adapted to do: offset our endemic individualism.

The romantic conception of military service has a firm basis. The recruiting officer in the opening scene of Bertold Brecht's *Mother Courage* laments that we are sorely in need of a "good war," for the nation is growing flabby as individuals sink into their private goals and interests. War is an inescapably common endeavor, and combat provides a goal far beyond private concerns. Hence the exhilaration of a simple, directly patriotic act, and the celebration of heroism in action. And for those so overwhelmed with the sordid or violent aspects of war that they could never bring themselves to share in that form of common adventure, maybe national service could effect something comparable.

It is, after all, a shared vision that we are about—something that can bring us to a common resolve and kindle a sense of purpose in us all. Israel comes quickly to mind, and whatever misgivings one may have regarding its policies towards Palestinian Arabs over the years, there remains an inevitable esteem for their sense of common purpose. That resolve is expressed in a continuing conscription of men and women, bolstered by some form of reserve training thereafter. How better elevate individuals to an active national purpose?

Yet the example of Israel offers may be at once misleading and illuminating. It is misleading in that its expressly threatened situation remains atypical. Neighbors among nations may regularly feud, yet a posture of outright and declared hostility seldom prevails. In this respect, Israel presents a recruiting officer's ideal, yet that eerie fact may prove particularly illuminating. For so constantly forged a national purpose easily loses flexibility. As it persists in training itself to a swift and accurate military response, it may lose imagination for other kinds of responses. And its citizens may before long weary under the tension required to maintain so taut a bow. At this point, the intelligent criticism of a "loyal opposition" will be hard to come by, since those trained to the unconditional support required in combat situations will think themselves guilty to criticize.

"National purpose" may in fact be a temporary notion at best—something a people must rise to when their existence is threatened, but less felicitous as a description of the goal of a society. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" do not name purposes, though a five-year plan will: "increase production by 15% and agricultural yield by 30%." These two phrases betray profound differences in the vision one has of a state. Put another way, not all ends are goals or purposes. If a society is to endure it must embody a shared vision, which will be expressed as ends or intentions, yet that vision may only occasionally require expression as a common purpose. In fact, it may prove destructive of a vision even to try to make it over into a statement of goals. Some of the more pointless efforts to translate educational or religious endeavors into "management-by-objectives" illustrate this contention.

Yet national service inevitably will be justified as a way of contributing to the national purpose, as well as an opportunity to raise the sights of young people to goals far beyond their individual reach. My suspicion, however, is that it will resemble conscription too closely to make such an impact. Without any of the romance of war, the procedures, the projects, the entire environment are bound to ape the military bureaucracy—and in the measure that they do, the unintended result will be pervasive cynicism.

The gist of my concern about proposals for alternative national service, then, turns on the suspicion that they will be unable to be alternative enough. The only systems we have for such massive turnover are the time-worn military ones, and one surmises that the government would have to turn to them. So I find myself in the paradoxical position of recommending registration of young men and women for military service, yet of allowing them to state their preference at that time for an alternative form of service. Those so indicating would be required to serve within a stated period of time, whereas no one willing to be conscripted into the armed forces would ordinarily be called

up short of a national emergency. In this way, alternative service routes would stand less of a chance of being crowded with "draft-dodgers," as those less highly motivated would probably prefer to take their chances. If we were actually confronted with an emergency, the conventional tests for conscientious objection would have to be applied.

To my mind, a proposal of this sort would respect the logic of "alternative service" by encouraging independent and church assotiations to perfect and expand their existing service networks. These would stand a better chance of communicating the virtues of public interest than a national program could, for the reasons already adduced. Finally, the fact of registration itself, coupled with the alternative proposed, would force the issue of national purpose on each young man and woman in our society.

Statement of The United States Catholic Conference Administrative Board

We have followed closely the public debate on the reinstitution of registration for military service with the possible renewal of military conscription to follow. The questions of registration and conscription for military service are part of the broader political-moral issue of war and peace in the nuclear age. But registration and conscription bear so directly on the moral decision-making of citizens that they require specific attention.

The U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC), and its predecessor the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), have spoken to the question of peacetime military conscription five times since 1944. The present debate in Congress and the media raises both old and new questions; we offer in this statement a body of principles and a series of positions in response to the public debate.

We recognize, of course, that the questions of registration and conscription arise, as Vatican II said, because "war has not been rooted out of human affairs". In the face of the sad truth of this statement, our response as teachers in the Church must be the same as that of all the popes of this century. We call in season and out of season for the international community to turn from war and to do the works of peace. The primary obligation of the nuclear age is to banish resort to force from the daily affairs of nations and peoples. From Pius XII to John Paul II the cry of the Church and the prayer of all believers is a reiteration of the words of Paul VI: "No more war, war never again!" This must remain our primary response to war today.

Only in the context of this statement can we consider the question of what is the legitimate role of governments and the responsibilities of citizens regarding military conscription. We see registration, conscription and participation in military service as moral questions as well as political issues. Our perspective on these issues is shaped by Catholic moral teaching on the role of the state, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens, when both citizen and state are confronted by questions of war and peace.

With Vatican II we recognize that: "As long as the danger of war remains and there is no competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted". This principle acknowledges the right of the state to call citizens to acts of "legitimate defense". To this right there corresponds the duty each citizen has to contribute to the common good of society, including, as an essential element, the defense of society. Both the right of the state and the responsibility of the citizen are governed by moral principles which seek to protect the welfare of society and to preserve inviolate the conscience of the citizen.

The moral right of the state to use force is severely limited both in terms of the reasons for which force is employed and the means to be used. While acknowledging the duty of the state to defend society and its correlative right to use force in certain circumstances, we also affirm the Catholic teaching that the state's decision to use force should always be morally scrutinized by citizens asked to support the decision or to participate in war. From the perspective of the citizen the moral scrutiny of every use of force can produce a posture of responsible participation in the government's decision, or conscientious objection to some *reasons* for using force, some *methods* of using force, or even some specific branches of the service because of the missions they may be asked to perform. *(Cf. Human Life In Our Day.)*

In light of these general principles, we are led to the following specific positions:

1. *Registration:* We acknowledge the right of the state to register citizens, for the purpose of military conscription, both in peacetime and in times of national emergency. Therefore, we find no objection *in principle* to this action by the government. However, we believe it necessary to present convincing reasons for this at any particular time.

2. *Military Conscription:* We are opposed to any reinstitution of military conscription except in the case of a national defense emergency. We support the present standby draft system which requires the chief executive to obtain a new authorization to induct a specific number of men into the armed forces if clear purposes of adequate defense demand conscription.

3. *Conscientious Objection:* We regard this question in all its dimensions as a central element in Catholic teaching on the morality of war. First, we support the right of conscientious objection as a valid moral position, derived from the Gospel and Catholic teaching, and recognized as well in

U.S. civil law. The legal protection provided conscientious objectors is a commendable part of our political system which must be preserved in any policy of conscription.

Secondly, we support the right of selective conscientious objection (SCO) as a moral conclusion which can be validly derived from the classical moral teaching of Just-War theory. The position of SCO has not yet found expression in our legal system, but a means should be found to give this legitimate moral position a secure legal status. The experience of the Vietnam war highlighted the moral and political significance of precisely this question. We are sure of the moral validity of SCO; we would welcome a dialogue with legislators, lawyers, ethicists and other religious leaders about how to transpose this moral position into effective legal language.

4. *Universal National Service:* We continue to oppose, as we have in the past, a universal or national service corps; our opposition rests upon its compulsory character when a proportionate threat to the nation or need for it is not clearly evident.

5. *Women and Military Conscription:* One of the new questions in the public debate about registration and conscription is whether women should be registered and conscripted on the same basis as men. This is a complex question which touches several issues. It is our position that the past practice of making military service an option for women but not an obligation has served us well as a society. We do not see good reasons for changing this practice and so we oppose both the registration and the conscription of women.

6. *Methods of Registration:* While we acknowledge the right of the state to register citizens, we are disturbed by proposals to use methods of registration which would require schools to provide information for registration. Such direct access by public authorities to records for this sensitive moral issue could raise serious issues of church and state. We express our opposition to this method of registration; we support methods which do not directly involve the private or religious sector in the registration process.

In light of these principles and policy considerations there is a final point to be made directly to the community of the Church. The primary relationship of the Church to questions of war and peace is as a moral teacher. With Vatican II we affirm that: "All those who enter the military service in loyalty to their country should look upon themselves as the custodians of the security and freedom of their fellow countrymen; and when they carry out their duty properly, they are contributing to the maintenance of peace". We also affirm that the decision to enter military service and subsequent decisions in the line of military duty involve moral questions of great importance. Hence, the issues of registration and conscription raise questions of the kind and quality of moral education that takes place in our educational system. Specifically, it raises the question of what educational and counseling resources are available to a person facing registration or conscription. In adopting this statement of public policy on registration and conscription we call upon schools and religious educators to include systematic formation of conscience on questions of war and peace in their curricula and we pledge the assistance of appropriate diocesan agencies in counseling any of those who face questions of military service.